

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 110839

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DRAFTED BY: EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 110839

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT USNATO 2896 SENT SECSTATE DATED MAY 24.

QUOTE

S E C R E T USNATO 2896

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XDGS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NAC DISCUSSION OF NATO DECLARATION, MAY 24

SUMMARY. UK TEXT OF NATO DECLARATION WAS BASIS OF CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION IN NAC, LASTING MORE THAN TWO HOURS, IN RUNNING COMPARISON WITH THOUGHT GROUP TEXT, RESULTING IN WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR MOVING FORWARD RAPIDLY TO AGREEMENT ON TEXT IN TIME FOR OTTAWA MINISTERIAL. STRONG SUPPORT, THOUGH NOT UNANIMOUS, WAS EVIDENCED FOR A DECLARATION RATHER THAN A COMMUNIQUE. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LEVEL OF SIGNING AND SEVERAL DELETED PASSAGES WILL BE DISCUSSED, ON INSTRUCTED BASIS IN SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 110839

NEXT NAC, MAY 27. ACTION REQUESTED: AS PRELIMINARY STEP,

GUIDANCE CITED LAST PARAGRAPH THIS TELEGRAM. END SUMMARY.

1. ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL PANSA DISTRIBUTED A TWO-COLUMN TEXT PREPARED BY THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF, THE FIRST COLUMN BEING THE TEXT OF THE THOUGHT GROUP, DATED FEBRUARY 26, AND THE SECOND COLUMN THE NEW BRITISH TEXT, HE OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY SUGGESTING THAT THE COUNCIL DEAL FIRST WITH THE TEXT ITSELF AND THEN WHAT TO DO WITH IT ONCE THERE IS AN AGREED TEXT.

2. AMBASSADOR PECK (UK) INFORMED THE COUNCIL THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. CALLAGHAN, THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF NATO BE RECOGNIZED APPROPRIATELY. HE SAID THE OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE A SUBSTANTIAL STATEMENT THAT REMINDS OUR PUBLICS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE AND THAT COMMUNICATES TO THE SOVIETS THAT, DESPITE EVENTS OF THE LAST YEAR, WHAT UNITES US IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN OUR DIFFERENCES. HE THOUGHT THE STATEMENT SHOULD BE READY IN TIME TO ISSUE IN OTTAWA AND THAT THE FORM OF IT WAS SUBSIDIARY, ALTHOUGH HIS AUTHORITIES HAD A PREFERENCE FOR A DECLARATION RATHER THAN A COMMUNIQUE. AS TO THE TEXT ITSELF, THE UK TEXT DRAWS ON LANGUAGE AGREED TO EARLIER AND SHOULD ENABLE THE ALLIANCE TO REACH AGREEMENT RAPIDLY. HE ASSURED HIS COLLEAGUES THAT THE UK WAS OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS FOR AMENDMENT.

3. AMBASSADOR DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) BEGAN WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT "WE ALL WANT THE SAME THING." HE SAID THAT THE COMPARISON OF THE TWO TEXTS WAS VERY HELPFUL. WHEN ONE SEES THE MOTHER AND CHILD TOGETHER IT IS A TRIBUTE TO THE ORIGINAL. THE CHIEF QUESTION FACING THE COUNCIL IS WHAT METHOD SHALL THEY FOLLOW. WHETHER IT WILL BE A DECLARATION OR A COMMUNIQUE DEPENDS ON THEIR SUCCESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON A GOOD TEXT. HIS GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THE QUESTION OF DECLARATION OR COMMUNIQUE TO BE AN IMPORTANT ONE.

4. AMBASSADOR DE ROSE (FRANCE) SAID THAT THE TWO-COLUMN TEXT SHOWS THAT THERE ARE ENOUGH POINTS IN COMMON TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE COUNCIL TO DO SOMETHING. HE EXPRESSED REGRET ABOUT AMBASSADOR PECK'S BREVITY IN HIS INITIAL REMARKS BECAUSE HE HAD HOPED THAT THIS DISCUSSION WOULD REVEAL THE IDEAS BEHIND THE DECISIONS TO INCLUDE OR EXCLUDE PASSAGES. HE HIMSELF WAS PRE-SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 110839

PARSED FOR SUCH A DISCUSSION OF THE DIFFERENCES OF IDEAS IN THE TWO TEXTS. AMBASSADOR PECK DID NOT DEFEND OR EXPLAIN HIS TEXT, BUT IF THERE IS NO OBJECTION HE WILL TELL WHAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S IDEAS ARE. RECEIVING PANSA'S ENCOURAGEMENT TO GO AHEAD WITH THE DISCUSSION OF IDEAS, AMBASSADOR DE ROSE SAID THAT THERE ARE MANY MINOR AMENDMENTS THAT DO NOT NEED TO BE DISCUSSED IN THE NAC; THE SPC CAN PERFORM THAT TASK. THE BRITISH AMENDMENTS ARE IN TWO CATEGORIES: FIRST, DELETIONS OF PARAGRAPHS OR SENTENCES,

AND SECOND, ADDITIONS TO THE GROUP TEXT.

5. AMBASSADOR DE ROSE THEN REPORTED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THREE DELETIONS THAT THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND. THE FIRST DELETION IS "THE COMMON AIM BEING TO MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY TO

PREVENT AN ATTACK ON THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE OR ON ANY OF ITS MEMBER NATIONS, THE STAKE OF WHICH WOULD BE, THROUGH THE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPE'S OR OF ANY MEMBER NATION'S INDEPENDENCE, THE DOMINATION OF THE WORLD." THIS SENTENCE APPEARED IN BRACKETS IN PARAGRAPH 3 AND IN PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE GROUP TEXT. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIES IS BASED ON AN AWARENESS THAT THE DANGER TO EVEN ONE OF THEM IS A DANGER TO THE WHOLE WORLD. IT EXPLAINS WHAT LINKS EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES; IT IS ESSENTIAL TO INCLUDE THE STATEMENT THAT THE STAKE IS WORLD DOMINATION. THE SECOND PUZZLING DELETION IS THE SENTENCE ABOUT "THE ULTIMATE AIM OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY," WHICH WAS AT THE BEGINNING OF PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE GROUP TEXT. THIS SENTENCE IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT EXPRESSES THE THOUGHT THAT LIMITED MILITARY OPERATIONS COULD LEAD TO LIMITLESS RESULTS. IT EXPRESSES THE THOUGHT THAT THE ALLIANCE SEEKS TO PREVENT NOT ONLY MILITARY DEFEAT BUT ALSO POLITICAL DEFEAT. IT IS NECESSARY TO SAY TO A POTENTIAL ENEMY, OUR AIM IS TO PREVENT YOU FROM GETTING WHAT YOU WANT BY ANY MEANS. THE THIRD DELETION THAT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES DO NOT UNDERSTAND IS THE SENTENCE HAVING TO DO WITH THE "PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TOWARD POLITICAL UNION." THAT SENTENCE HAD BEEN VERY CAUTIOUSLY STATED. FOR MANY IT IS A HOPE. IT IS CERTAINLY A POSSIBILITY. IF EUROPE SUCCEEDS IN PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL UNION IT WILL HAVE A BENEFICIAL EFFECT, IT WILL LEAD TO AN INCREASED CONTRIBUTION TO A EUROPEAN DEFENSE.

6. AMBASSADOR DE ROSE THEN TURNED TO ADDITIONS TO THE GROUP TEXT NOW IN THE BRITISH TEXT. HE STARTED WITH PARAGRAPH 2 WHERE, HE SAID, THE UK TEXT PUTS GREATER STRESS ON DETENTE, AS URGED BY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 110839

MANY DELEGATIONS. THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES HAVE A RESERVATION, BUT NOT A FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTION REGARDING THE WORDING. THEY BELIEVE IT IS NOT OPPORTUNE TO SAY THAT THE ALLIANCE IS "AS MUCH AN INSTRUMENT FOR PURSUING DETENTE AS FOR INSURING COLLECTIVE DEFENSE." THE ALLIANCE IS NOT AN INSTRUMENT FOR DETENTE IN THE SAME WAY AS IT IS FOR DEFENSE. THE ALLIANCE PERMITS DETENTE. THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE IS NOT AN ALLIANCE EFFORT, BUT AN EFFORT OF MEMBERS INDIVIDUALLY. THEY WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO SAYING THAT THE ALLIANCE IS ATTACHED TO THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE. IN PARAGRAPH 4 THERE ARE TWO NEW SENTENCES REFERRING TO "OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD." WHOSE MEANING IS NOT CLEAR. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FORESEE AN EXTENSION OF THE ALLIANCE. THE NEXT ADDITION HE QUERIED WAS IN PARAGRAPH 9 OF THE BRITISH TEXT, THE REFERENCE TO A RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE THE WELL-BEING OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. HE CONTENDED THAT IN THE GROUP TEXT THERE

IS A CLEAR RECOGNITION THAT IT IS THE OBLIGATION OF "EACH OF THEM", BUT IN THE BRITISH WORDING IT SEEMS TO ESTABLISH AN OBLIGATION OF THE ALLIANCE ITSELF. IN PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE BRITISH TEXT, REFERRING TO THE SAME IDEA IN PARAGRAPH 2, THERE SEEMS TO BE ESTABLISHED A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR DETENTE, WHICH THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES THINK IS NOT IN ACCORD WITH WHAT THE GOVERNMENTS WISH TO PRACTICE.

7. AMBASSADOR DE ROSE THEN COMMENTED ON THE THIRD SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE BRITISH TEXT. HE SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO AGREEMENT AMONG THE NINE IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS OF THIS QUESTION FOR THE US-EC DECLARATION. ON THIS PROBLEM OF "GLOBALIZATION," HE SAID, THE POSITION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS WELL KNOWN. HIS GOVERNMENT PREFERS THE WORDING OF THE GROUP TEXT.

8. DE ROSE CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT WHEN THE DRAFTING COMMENCED, HIS DELEGATION WOULD BE ABLE TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS. HE MENTIONED, AS AN EXAMPLE, THAT HIS AUTHORITIES THOUGHT A COMPROMISE COULD BE FOUND FOR THE ISSUE OF THE JUNE 22 AGREEMENT.

9. MCAULIFFE THEN SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WARMLY WELCOMES THE UK DRAFT AND BELIEVES THIS BRITISH INITIATIVE CONSTITUTES AN EXTREMELY USEFUL ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE A WORKING DOCUMENT FOR ALLIANCE DISCUSSIONS. THE USG IS CONVINCED THAT THE BRITISH TEXT PROVIDES THE BEST BASIS FOR A SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE DRAFTING EFFORTS. THE USG ALSO STRONGLY FEELS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 110839

THAT A TEXT SATISFACTORY TO THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE ISSUED AS A DECLARATION RATHER THAN A COMMUNIQUE OR A REINFORCED COMMUNIQUE. SINCE THE BRITISH TEXT IS CLEARLY SIMILAR TO EARLIER DRAFTS WHICH WERE CHARACTERIZED -- EVEN IN PRESS SPECULATION -- AS A DECLARATION, IT SEEMS INCONSISTENT NOW TO LABEL THE DOCUMENT WE PRODUCE AS A COMMUNIQUE. AND AS MANY AMBASSADORS HAVE REMINDED US, THE MINISTERS GAVE THE PERMANENT COUNCIL A MANDATE TO PRODUCE A DECLARATION. THE TEXT ISSUED AS A DECLARATION WILL HAVE MAJOR SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE, WHICH IS PARTICULARLY NEEDED IN THIS 25TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR.

10. MCAULIFFE THEN DISTRIBUTED THE TEXT OF FOUR PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE BRITISH TEXT AND ASKED FOR ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION OF THEM. HE EMPHASIZED THAT WE OFFER THESE AMENDMENTS IN THE SPIRIT OF HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS AND WOULD WELCOME ALLIED PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVEMENT. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, WISH THESE PROPOSALS TO STAND IN THE WAY OF AN EARLY ALLIED CONSENSUS ON THE TEXT OF A DECLARATION SINCE WE HOPE TO MOVE THIS PROJECT FORWARD AT A RAPID PACE.

11. WITH REGARD TO PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE BRITISH TEXT, WHICH COVERS THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION, WHICH THE USG CONSIDERS ESSENTIAL,

HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE PROPOSED LANGUAGE DOES NOT GO AS FAR AS WASHINGTON HAD HOPED FOR, IT REPRESENTS A SINCERE EFFORT ON THE PART OF HMG TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS, AND IN THAT SPIRIT, WE ARE PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH IT AS DRAFTED.

12. MCAULIFFE THEN EXPLAINED BRIEFLY THE FOUR PROPOSED TEXTUAL CHANGES. THE PROPOSED FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 1 BETTER EXPRESSES THE SAME CONCEPT CONTAINED IN THE UK AND EARLIER DRAFTS AND DIMINISHES SOMEWHAT THE SELF-CONGRATULATORY TONE OF THOSE DRAFTS. IT STRESSES EARLY IN THE PARAGRAPH THE CONCEPT OF MAINTAINING SECURITY AND FOLLOWS THIS WITH A STATEMENT OF THE ALLIED ABILITY TO ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSES. IT ELIMINATES THE SOMEWHAT NEGATIVE FORMULATION "REGAINED ITS SELF-CONFIDENCE." THE PROPOSED CHANGE IN PARAGRAPH 6 REFLECTS THE PECULIAR DIFFICULTY, FROM THE LEGAL POINT OF VIEW, THAT THE US WOULD HAVE WITH USE OF THE WORD "COMMITMENT," WHICH IN THIS CONTEXT COULD BE TAKEN AS AN EXTENSION OF PRESENT COMMITMENTS UNDER THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. THIS COULD CAUSE DIFFICULTIES WITH CONGRESS SINCE COMMITMENTS, FOR EXAMPLE ON THE STATIONING OF US FORCES IN EUROPE, ARE SUBJECT TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 110839

ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL ENACTMENT. WE BELIEVE THE ADDITION OF A PARAGRAPH ON PARLIAMENT WOULD PROMOTE PARLIAMENTARY INTEREST IN AND SUPPORT FOR THE NATO DECLARATION AND FOR THE ALLIANCE ITSELF. THE CHANGE IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE FINAL PARAGRAPH IS SUGGESTED ONLY WITH THE VIEW TO IMPROVE THE EXPRESSION OF THE SAME THOUGHT AS IN THE BRITISH DRAFT. THE PROPOSED CHANGE IN PARAGRAPH 6 IS A SPECIALLY CASE BECAUSE OF OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, BUT IN MAKING THE OTHER SUGGESTIONS WE REPEAT THAT WE WELCOME PROPOSALS FROM ALLIES FOR IMPROVING THEM AND WOULD NOT WISH OUR OWN SUGGESTED CHANGES TO STAND IN THE WAY OF AN EARLY ALLIED CONSENSUS. OUR OVERRIDING INTEREST IS IN ACHIEVING SUBSTANTIVELY SATISFACTORY NATO TEXT AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

13. AMBASSADOR MENZIES (CANADA) EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT SOME OF THE FRENCH TEXT HAD BEEN DELETED UNNECESSARILY. HE THOUGHT THE NAC SHOULD TRY TO TAKE THE BEST OF BOTH TEXTS AND OF ALL CONTRIBUTIONS. HE ESPECIALLY WELCOMED THE BRITISH EFFORT IN PARAGRAPH 8, ON CONSULTATION, BECAUSE IT TOOK INTO ACCOUNT INTERESTS OF CANADA, WHICH IS NEITHER THE UNITED STATES NOR A MEMBER OF THE NINE. HIS AUTHORITIES, LIKE ZANY STAGE MANAGER, "ARE CONCERNED ABOUT "THE SHOW" TO BE PUT ON IN CANADA: " LIGHTS, STAGING, BACKDROPS." HE URGED THAT THE COUNCIL TRY TO HAVE INSTRUCTED COMMENTS BY NEXT WEEK ON WHETHER THE TEXT WILL BE SIGNED AS A DECLARATION RATHER THAN AS AN ANNEX TO THE COMMUNIQUE OR PART OF A COMMUNIQUE.

14. AMBASSADOR SVART (DENMARK) WELCOMED THE RESUMPTION OF DISCUSSION OF A DECLARATION AND SAID HIS AUTHORITIES VALUE THE BRITISH EFFORT, WHICH THEY CONSIDER WELL ADAPTED TO THE PURPOSE

OF ACHIEVING AGREEMENT. THEY THINK THE BRITISH TEXT CONTAINS SEVERAL IMPROVEMENTS. DETENTE IS BROUGHT OUT MORE STRONGLY, ESPECIALLY IN PARAGRAPH 2, AND PARAGRAPH 8 IS A STEP FORWARD BECAUSE IT ECHOES THE HARMEL REPORT, DOES NOT LIMIT THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS, AND MEETS US VIEWS ON CONSULTATION. BUT HIS AUTHORITIES FIND PARAGRAPH 9 NOT FULLY WHAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE. THE DISCUSSION OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IS MORE A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT IS AND THEY WILL SUGGEST A TEXT TO SPEAD OF WHAT MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED.

15. AMBASSADOR ERALP (TURKEY) SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES ARE VERY HAPPY ABOUT THE UK TEXT AND WANT A DECLARATION, NOT A SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 110839

COMMUNIQUE, FOR THE MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA. HE GAVE COMMENTS ON A NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS, AS FOLLOWS: THEY LIKE PARAGRAPH 2 BECAUSE IT GIVES A BETTER ACCOUNT OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE; THEY PREFER THE OLD TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 3 ON THE VULNERABILITY OF EUROPE, BUT WOULD GO ALONG WITH THE MAJORITY ON THIS QUESTION; THEY AGREE TO THE DROPPING OF THE SECTENCE ABOUT THE EC'S PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL UNION; IN PARAGRAPH 9 OF THE GROUP TEXT, THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES WOULD LIKE TO RESTORE THE LAST SENTENCE ABOUT "NOTHING MUST BE ACCEPTED WHICH WOULD DIMINISH THIS SECURITY." ERALP STRESSED THAT PARA 8 OF THE U.S. TEXT (CONSULTATION) WAS A STEP FORWARD; IT WAS FULLY SUPPORTED BY HIS AUTHORITIES.

16. CHARGE SELMER (NORWAY) IS INSTRUCTED TO SAY THAT THE UK TEXT IS A POSITIVE AND USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A DECLARATION, AND HE EMPHASIZES THE WORD "DECLARATION." HIS AUTHORITIES THINK THIS TEXT DRAWA ON WHAT HAS BEECOACCOMPLISHED AND SHOULD ENABLE THE COUNCIL TO ARRIVE AT A TEXT IN OTTAWA WHICH SHOULD BE ADOPTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY, THUS HIGHLIGHTING THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIANCE. HIS AUTHORITIES ARE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY THE WAY THIS TEXT CONNECTS DETENTE AND DEFENSE. IT DIMINISHES THE BIPOLARITY OF THE US AND THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. THEY AGREE WITH THE PARAGRAPH ON CONSULTATION. ALL IN ALL, THE TEXT IS NOT PERFECT BUT THEY WILL GO ALONG WITH IT.

17. AMBASSADOR KRAPF (FRG) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES APPRECIATE THE BRITISH EFFORT. SOME SPECIAL TRIBUTE IN OTTAWA IN RECOGNITION OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. THEY HAD HOPED THEY COULD GO FORWARD ON THE BASIS OF THE GROUP TEXT. SOME IDEAS FROM THAT TEXT SHOULD BE PRESERVED, HE SAID, IN AGREEMENT WITH WHAT AMBASSADOR DE ROSE HAD SAID, SPECIFICALLY: IN PARAGRAPH 3, THE SENTENCE ABOUT WORLD DOMINATION; IN PARAGRAPH 6, THE SENTENCE ABOUT THE ULTIMATE AIR OF DEFENSE POLICY; AND IN PARAGRAPH 8, THE SENTENCE ABOUT PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL UNION. IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE BRITISH TEXT, HIS

AUTHORITIES THINK THAT DETENTE IS OVEREMPHASIZED AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE RESTORED THE EQUILIBRIUM OF DETENTE AND DEFENSE, AS IN THE GROUP TEXT. THEY THINK THAT THE BRITISH TEXT IS VERY HELPFUL ON THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION AND HOPE THAT IT CONTRIBUTES TO RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM. HE ASKED THAT HIS FRENCH COLLEAGUES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 110839

LOOK AGAIN AT THIS PARAGRAPH BECAUSE IT HAS SO MUCH SPECIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE US. IN CONCLUSION, THEY THOUGHT THAT THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THE BRITISH TEXT IS GOOD. AS TO THE FORM OF ISSUING THE STATEMENT, THEY WOULD BE HAPPY OF ALL OF THE ALLIES COULD AGREE TO ISSUE IT AS A DECLARATION FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS TO SIGN IN OTTAWA.

18. AMBASSADOR CHORAFAS (GREECE) THANKED THE BRITISH FOR REVIEWING THE IDEA OF A DECLARATION. HIS AUTHORITIES PREFER BY FAR A DECLARATION TO BE ISSUED IN OTTAWA, BUT DO NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMUNIQUE BECAUSE THEY WONDER IF THERE IS ENOUGH TIME TO PREPARE A DECLARATION FOR OTTAWA. AS FOR THE TEXT, THE BRITISH TEXT IS SATISFACTORY IN ITS MAJOR LINES BUT THE FRENCH VERSION IS ALSO SATISFACTORY. THE GREEK AUTHORITIES FIND DIFFICULTY WITH THE FIRST PARAGRAPH BECAUSE OF THE REFERENCE TO WESTERN EUROPE, FORGETTING THAT SOME OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE NOT PART OF WESTERN EUROPE. THE REFERENCE TO EUROPEAN UNITY WOULD NOT BE CONVINCING TO THE PUBLIC. HIS AUTHORITIES AGREE WITH WHAT AMBASSADOR DE ROSE SAID ABOUT DEFENSE AND DETENTE; THE ORIGINAL AIM OF THE ALLIANCE WAS DEFENSE NOT DETENTE. HE AGREES WITH AMBASSADOR ERALP THAT A SENTENCE SHOULD BE RESTORED ABOUT THE VULNERABILITY OF EUROPE IN PARAGRAPH 3. PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5, HE SAID, SHOULD BE ADAPTED IN SOME WAY; THE IDEAS ARE ALL RIGHT BUT A DIFFERENT ORDER WOULD MAKE THEM CLEARER. HE THEN REPEATED A CRITICISM EXPRESSED ON OTHER OCCASIONS THAT THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 7 OF THE BRITISH TEXT, ON BURDENSARING IS UNCLEAR WHERE IT SPEAKS OF "ACCORDING TO ITS PLACE," AND SHOULD SAY INSTEAD SOMETHING LIKE "ACCORDING TO ITS ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES." HE TOO URGED THAT THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 9 OF THE GROUP TEXT SHOULD BE RESTORED. HE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE BRITISH TEXT AND HOPED THAT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES WILL FIND A WAY TO FALL IN LINE ON THIS SUBJECT. HE CONCLUDED BY URGING ALL ALLIES TO GIVE UP ANY DELAYING POSITIONS IN ORDER TO GET THE JOB DONE.

19. AMBASSADOR PANSA TOOK THAT OPPORTUNITY TO WARN THE COUNCIL AGAINST THE DANGER OF PERFECTIONISM. HE CONCEDED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO LOOK CLOSELY AT THE TEXT AND MAKE IT AS GOOD AS POSSIBLE, BUT HE URGED THEM ALL TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR A SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE AND FLEXIBILITY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 09 STATE 110839

20. CHARGE BUWALDA (NETHERLANDS) SAID THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER WELCOMES THE BRITISH EFFORT TO REOPEN THIS DEBATE. HE HAD THREE PRELIMINARY REMARKS. FIRST, THE ALLIANCE MUST SUCCEED IN THIS EFFORT, IT CANNOT AFFORD ANOTHER FAILURE. HIS GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REACH A "SUBSTANTIALLY SATISFACTORY" DOCUMENT, TO USE THE WORDS OF THE US CHARGE. SECOND, THE GROUP TEXT DOESN'T REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF THE DUTCH DELEGATION, EVEN THOUGH THEY DID SIT IN ON SOME OF THE MEETINGS OF THE THOUGHT GROUP. THIRD, HE WILL REPORT TO HIS GOVERNMENT THE STRONG PREFERENCE OF OTHER DELEGATIONS FOR A DECLARATION RATHER THAN A COMMUNIQUE. TURNING TO THE UK TEXT, MR. BUWALDA SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT VIEWS IT FAVORABLY AND CAN GO ALONG WITH IT. THEY CONSIDER THAT THE SENTENCES ON DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE IN PARAGRAPH 2 ARE AN IMPROVEMENT. THE DUTCH AGREE COMPLETELY WITH THE STRATEGIC CONCEPTS OF THE SUCCEEDING PARAS. THEY WELCOME THE CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT OF PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE UK TEXT AND HOPE IT WILL BE SATISFACTORY TO ALL DELEGATIONS. IN PARAGRAPH 9 THEY WELCOME THE REFERENCE TO THE THIRD WORLD. AS FOR DIFFICULTIES WITH THE UK TEXT, IN PARAGRAPH 5 THEY STILL FIND DIFFICULTY WITH THE REFERENCE TO "NUCLEAR FORCES CAPABLE OF PLAYING A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN," AND WILL PROPOSE CHANGES TO THAT SENTENCE. THEY AGREE WITH THE CRITICISM OF PARAGRAPH 9 AND LOOK FORWARD TO THE DANISH PROPOSALS. THEY HAD IN MIND SOME COSMETIC CHANGES AND ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT TWO OF THEM HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN CARE OF BY THE US PROPOSALS FOR CHANGES IN THE FIRST AND LAST PARAGRAPHS. HE CONCLUDED BY PLEDGING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SPEEDY COMPLETION OF A TEXT FOR OTTAWA.

21. AMBASSADOR CATALONO (ITALY) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD PREFER "NO PRESENT ALTERNATIVE" TO "NO ALTERNATIVE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE" IN PARAGRAPH 4. HIS AUTHORITIES DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE REFERENCE TO PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL UNION WAS DROPPED AND CONSIDER ITS RETENTION FUNDAMENTAL. ON PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE UK TEXT, ON CONSULTATION, HIS GOVERNMENT STILL HOPES FOR A US-EC DECLARATION AND FOR THAT REASON WOULD PREFER A MORE CONCISE STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION IN THE NATO DECLARATION. HE THEN CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING TEXT: " NEW FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 8 PROPOSED BY THE ITALIAN DELEGATION: THE ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR COMMON AIMS REQUIRES THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION, COOPERATION

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 10 STATE 110839

AND MUTUAL TRUST. THESE ARE AS NECESSARY FOR DETENTE AS FOR DEFENSE, WHICH ARE, THEY REPEAT, COMPLEMENTARY. THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR WORK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR

ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH ONE ANOTHER. TO THIS END THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND TO STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS." CATALANO CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT RESERVES ON THE QUESTION OF FORMAT, THAT IS WHETHER THE STATEMENT SHOULD BE A DECLARATION OR A COMMUNIQUE.

22. AMBASSADOR FISCHBACH (LUXEMBOURG) CONGRATULATED THE BRITISH ON THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE COMPROMISE, BUT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE ALLIES TO ACCEPT THE ATTEMPT AT GLOBALIZATION IN THIS DRAFT. AS FOR THE DIFFICULTY WITH THE PASSAGE ON DETENTE IN PARAGRAPH 2, HE THOUGHT THAT BY MODIFYING THE WORDS SLIGHTLY AND CHANGING THE ORDER THEY COULD DO AWAY WITH THE DIFFICULTIES. HIS GOVERNMENT HOPED THAT THE STATEMENT WOULD BE IN THE FORM OF A DECLARATION RATHER THAN A COMMUNIQUE.

23. IN RESPONSE TO THE CHAIRMAN'S QUESTION WHETHER ANYONE WANTED TO SPEAK AGAIN, SELMER RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY TO THE CHAIRMAN'S APPEAL FOR FLEXIBILITY. HE SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE NOT MANDATORY BUT WERE EXPLICITLY THE EXPRESSION OF DESIRES AND PREFERENCES. HE AGREED EMPHATICALLY WITH THE US FORMULATION THAT THE OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE A "SUBSTANTIVELY SATISFACTORY" DECLARATION. ERALP THEN SAID THAT THE SAME COULD BE SAID FOR HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS WERE MEANT TO HELP, NOT HINDER.

24. PECK COMMENTED ON THE US PROPOSAL FOR PARAGRAPH 1 SAYING THAT HE THOUGHT A REFERENCE TO "UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY" MIGHT BE QUESTIONABLE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. AS FOR THE COMMENTS ABOUT DETENTE AND DEFENSE IN THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 2, HE SAID THIS WAS A FORMULATION IMPORTANT TO HIS NEW GOVERNMENT AND HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE QUEEN'S SPEECH. NEVERTHELESS, HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WAS ROOM FOR ARGUMENT AND HMG WERE PREPARED TO RECONSIDER DECISIONS ABOUT ADDITIONS AND DELETIONS AS WELL, FOR INSTANCE THE SENTENCE ABOUT EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY. THEY HAD SOUGHT TO AVOID DISAGREEMENT REPRESENTED BY BRACKETS. WE MUST KEEP IN MIND IN THIS EXERCISE THE ADVICE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 11 STATE 110839

NOT TO SEEK TOO MUCH PERFECTION.

25. AMBASSADOR DE ROSE WONDERED AGAIN ABOUT THE OMISSION OF THE SENTENCE ON DOMINATION OF THE WORLD AND SPECULATED THAT PERHAPS THE BRITISH HAD DELETED IT BECAUSE IT WAS BRACKETED. HE EXPLAINED THAT NEITHER THE FRENCH NOR THE US WERE OPPOSED TO THAT SENTENCE BUT BRACKETED IT TWICE BECAUSE THEY DISAGREED ON WHETHER TO PLACE IT IN PARAGRAPH 3 OR PARAGRAPH 5. IF THE BRITISH DID NOT OBJECT TO IT, THEN THE SENTENCE COULD BE RESTORED. AS FOR THE PART OF THE SENTENCE ABOUT THE ULTIMATE

AIM OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY, THAT HAD NOT BEEN IN BRACKETS. DID THE BRITISH HAVE ANY OBJECTION? PECK RESPONDED THAT SINCE THE BRITISH WERE NOT PARTIES TO THE THOUGHT GROUP, THEY MIGHT HAVE MISUNDERSTOOD THE MEANING OF THE BRACKETS. HE NOTED THAT THE SECOND PART OF THE SENTENCE ABOUT "THE ULTIMATE AIM" WAS NOW IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE UK TEXT. IT WAS THEIR OPINION THAT THE AFFIRMATION THAT AN ATTACK ON ONE SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK ON ALL TOOK CARE OF THE MATTER, BUT IN ANY CASE HE WILL REPORT DE ROSE'S COMMENTS.

26. MCAULIFFE THEN INTERVENED TO SAY THAT HE CONSIDERED THE DISCUSSION THEY HAD HAD VERY USEFUL. HE WAS ESPECIALLY PLEASED THAT THE DISCUSSION WAS HELD AT FIFTEEN. HE REITERATED THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO MOVE RAPIDLY AND THAT WE WELCOME THE PROPOSALS OF OTHERS. DIRECTLY TO MENZIES, HE SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS ENABLE HIM TO SAY THAT WE HOPE TO BE READY WITH A TEXT IN TIME FOR THE MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA, LEAVING OPEN THE QUESTION OF WHAT THE MINISTERS WILL THEN DO WITH THE TEXT. MENZIES REPLIED THAT HE FELT IT WAS NECESSARY TO TAKE ONE STEP FARTHER. IF A DECLARATION IS TO BE READY FOR SIGNATURE, THERE ARE MANY PREPARATIONS THAT MUST BE MADE. DOCUMENTS MUST BE PREPARED FOR SIGNATURE, DECISIONS

MUST BE MADE ABOUT WHETHER THERE WILL BE ONE COPY SIGNED BY FIFTEEN OR FIFTEEN DIFFERENT COPIES, NOT TO MENTION THE PROBLEMS OF TRANSLATION, ETC.

27. MCAULIFFE ACKNOWLEDGED MENZIES' QUESTIONS AND PROMISED TO REPORT THEM AND THEN CONTINUED HIS REMARKS BY EMPHASIZING TWO POINTS: FIRST, THE QUESTION OF "COMMITMENT" IN PARAGRAPH 6 IS A CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL PROBLEM
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PAGE 12 STATE 110839

FOR THE UNITED STATES AND HE WAS PLEASED TO NOTE THAT NO OBJECTIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED TO THE US NEED FOR THE CHANGE; SECOND, HE WANTED TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE ITALIAN REPRESENTATIVE AND TO ALL OTHERS THAT THE AMENDMENT TO PARAGRAPH 8 SUBMITTED BY THE ITALIAN DELEGATION IS DEFICIENT IN SUBSTANCE. IT DELETES TWO IMPORTANT

SENTENCES FROM THE BRITISH TEXT. IF THE ITALIAN TEXT FOR PARAGRAPH 8 WERE ON THE TABLE NOW, HE WOULD BE FORCED TO REJECT IT.

28. DE STAERCKE SAID THAT THE FIRST PROBLEM IS TO ACHIEVE A TEXT AT FIFTEEN. THE COUNCIL MUST WORK IN A SPIRIT THAT IS NOT DIVISIVE. HE APPEALED FOR AGREEMENT. WE MUST NOT FAIL. HE SUPPORTED WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE APPEAL OF THE CHAIRMAN FOR FLEXIBILITY. SECONDLY, THERE IS A PROBLEM OF TIME. IT IS NOT TRUE, AND OTHER PERMREPS HAD SAID, THAT THEY MUST FINISH BEFORE THE MEETINGS IN BERGEN, JUNE

11 AND 12, BECAUSE EVEN IF AMBASSADORS ARE AWAY THE CHARGES ARE PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF REPRESENTING THEIR GOVERNMENTS. THE DEADLINE IS NOT BERGEN, BUT OTTAWA. IF NECESSARY WE WILL WORK ON SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS TO GET THE JOB DONE. IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL TO RETURN TO THE RESTRICTED GROUP NOW ALTHOUGH IT HAD DONE FINE WORK IN REDUCING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE U.S. WE SHOULD ASK THE SPC TO STUDY BOTH TEXTS VERY RAPIDLY AND IF DISCUSSIONS BOG DOWN ON WORDS INSTEAD OF IDEAS, THE PROJECT SHOULD BE BROUGHT BACK TO THE NAC. MENZIES' FORMULA "THE BEST OF BOTH OF THEM" SHOULD BE OUR MOTTO. LET US NOT RECREATE CONFLICTS. HE CLOSED WITH AN APPEAL TO FLEXIBILITY.

29. AFTER BRIEF DISCUSSION OF WHETHER THEY WOULD MOVE AHEAD MORE RAPIDLY BY KEEPING THE MATTER IN THE NAC OR TURNING IT OVER TO THE SPC, THE COUNCIL AGREED TO ASK THE SPC TO COMPARE THE TWO TEXTS, CONSIDER A NUMBER OF CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS, CONSIDER BUT NOT GET BOGGED DOWN IN POINTS OF DETAIL, AND BY MEETING ON MONDAY AND THESDAY, MAY 27 AND 28 PRESENT A REPORT FOR THE NAC'S USE IN ITS MEETING ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 29. MCAULIFFE SAID THAT HIS HEART GOES OUT TO THE SPC BECAUSE HE THINKS THEY DO NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT GUIDANCE, BUT THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS ARE TO MOVE FORWARD RAPIDLY AND THEREFORE HE SHALL NOT BLOCK THIS DECISION. THE CHAIRMAN SAID THAT HE "DETECTED AN ORIENTATION" OF THE COUNCIL TOWARD PREPARING A DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED IN OTTAWA. ON
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 13 STATE 110839

MAY 29, HE SAID, THERE SHOULD BE A DISCUSSION ON THE BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS. HE APPEALED AGAIN TO THE COUNCIL TO AVOID AN ATTEMPT AT PERFECTION AND URGED THEM TO PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF GOODWILL AND THE SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE.

30. COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON WHETHER PASSAGES REFERRED TO BY DE ROSE AS OMITTED FROM UK TEXT (SEE PARA 5 OF THIS CALBE) REMAIN ACCEPTABLE TO US, AS THEY WERE IN PREVIOUS DRAFTS. MISSION WOULD BE INCLINED, IF DEPARTMENT AGREES, TO GO WITH CONSENSUS ON POINTS CITED BY DE ROSE AS ADDITIONS TO UK TEXT (SEE PARA 6 OF THIS CABLE). ON PARA 8 OF UK TEXT (CONSULTATION) MISSION PROPOSES TO RESIST STRONGLY ANY ATTEMPT TO DECREASE ITS SCOPE OR WEAKEN THE COMMITMENT TO CONSULT. FURTHER GUIDANCE ON COMMENTS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS WOULD ALSO BE WELCOME.
END COMMENT.

31. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED.
MCAULIFFE. UNQUOTE BROWN

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, ALLIANCE, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MILITARY POLICIES, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 MAY 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE110839
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
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From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740516/aaaaaocm.tel
Line Count: 595
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 11
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 APR 2002 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <12 JUN 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAC DISCUSSION OF NATO DECLARATION, MAY 24 SUMMARY. UK TEXT OF NATO DECLARATION WAS BASIS OF CONSTRUCTIVE
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, XT, NATO
To: NATO POSTS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005